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## A Free Hand

With respect to American foreign policy President Harding indicates a spirit rather than declares a program. He is definite as to the objectives to be sought, but indefinite, except in a negative way, as to the exact method of attaining them.

He would have guarantees of peace through international association; the meeting of obligations that we owe to our allies in the war; a ratification of the Versailles Treaty minus the covenant and aid in enforcing it; an adoption of a peace resolution but without any attached declaration of general policy; and some sort of gathering for the negotiation of a covenant not based on super-state principles or creating a body on which is laid the police duty of enforcing the terms of a particular treaty.

But what he would include in the new instrument he avoids declaring. To his mind, it would seem, it should center in a codification of general rights in the manner of the Hague Convention rather than in a political alliance, but how far he would go in enlarging international law and giving it new sanctions he does not say. The policy he is contending for now, it will be observed, is that avowed two years ago in the famous Senatorial round-robin—namely, that the peace treaty was one thing and a covenant another thing, and that the two should not be confined in one document or be written by the same conference.

The Senate and people having joined, as the President construes events, in favor of a separation, he would carry out their will. He would ratify the treaty proper by dovetailing with it the Knox resolution and then devise the other agreement independently.

But all this is complicated, and to effect anything the President regards a free hand as indispensable. In effect he warns both houses of Congress not to invade the field of his prerogative to initiate and mature negotiations. The negotiation he has in view is plainly a new one, and the Senate is not to be consulted until the project is ready.

But the hope well may be expressed that the President will not become so enmeshed in problems of general right as to lose sight of realities. It is not easy to see how peace can be assured without some sort of political alliance. The immediate practical problem is threefold: to make it clear that Germany is responsible for the war; to visit a punishment in some degree proportionate to her offense; and thus to deter Germany or any other nation from doing what Germany did. This is a practical political question, and no mere rewriting of international law, no matter how excellent, is likely to touch it. The way that the treaty proper is ratified or adhered to is of the greatest consequence, and it is this point of the message which gives optimism foothold.

## Fluid Franchises

Caution, of course, forbids drawing sweeping conclusions from newspaper summaries of Supreme Court decisions; so until the publication of the full text of Monday's opinions in the Texas and Iowa cases modesty in interpretation is prudent.

But, unless there is gross misreading, the court holds that the rate clauses of a franchise contract are not binding when earnings thereunder do not pay a fair return on the value of property used in the public service. This is equivalent to saying that as to a most important matter a contract may not be binding—that is, no contract at all.

Moreover, if a franchise holder can get rid of an onerous burden it would follow logically that the public can do the same—not bound to pay a specified fare when earnings give more than a fair return. If this is so, all franchises, at least with regard to fares and rates, have become fluid.

The old doctrine was that a contract was a stiff and unyielding agreement, unchangeable except by mutual consent. "Appreciation or depreciation in value," says Williston, the principal authority, "or other events subsequent to the formation of the contract will not ordinarily afford ground for refusing enforcement by equity, even though

they make the performance of the two parties unequal." Never before, it would seem, has the Supreme Court countenanced the doctrine that mere hardship in fulfillment voids a contract.

Whether or not the decisions bear on the New York traction question is disputed. On the one side it is said they clearly do; on the other that they do not, because of the peculiar character of contracts under which the city is the owner of the subways and there is definite provision relating to cancellation. This difference of opinion is not likely to disappear until a New York case reaches the Supreme Court. In general the interest of the decisions is in the tendency they indicate of a breaking down of the old rigidity of the law of contracts, a matter concerning every community and public service corporation. If franchise corporations are mere tenants, with their rent alterable from year to year, a fundamental change has come in the status of all public service corporations. At present a loosening up is sought by the companies, but will it be safe to invest in utility property when commissions can mark rates up or down and the only protection against investment loss is the confiscation clause of the Federal Constitution, which has been only weakly protective of railway investments?

## No Turning Back on the Seas

What President Harding had to say yesterday about the American merchant marine will relieve many discouraged minds. We made the war experiment of constructing a great carrying fleet. It was built, naturally, without much regard to immediate cost. In the period of depression which has followed the war it happens to be in excess of temporary needs. A great deal of the money spent on it will have to be written off as a war loss.

Dual operation by the government and by private owners has made additional difficulties. We are in the backwash, and the nation's shipping experiment doesn't seem to be getting on. Yet these depressing conditions ought not to shake our faith in the policy we have adopted. It doesn't shake the President's. "This is a befitting occasion," he says, "to give notice that the United States means to establish and maintain a great merchant marine."

We can never attain full national growth until we have our own carrying fleet. Our geographical situation makes us a maritime power. Our commercial and political interests forbid our delegating to others a world-wide service which we should perform for ourselves. A fleet to do our own work is an investment which will pay in the end in many ways, visible and invisible. It would be folly to turn back now from the experiment because of temporary overconstruction and underdemand, or because of frictions between private operators and government operators. Our shipping will eventually be coordinated with our inland transportation, to the benefit of both and to the advantage of our expanding foreign trade. We have only begun to work out the problem.

## The Principle of Censorship

We have yet to see one argument urged in behalf of a censorship of moving pictures that is not equally applicable to a censorship of literature, art and the stage. If censors of the films are provided there is every reason in logic why censors of books, newspapers, pictures and the play should follow. That is the broad ground upon which The Tribune urgently opposes censorship of the moving picture.

It is sometimes agreed that censorship of the movies is needed to protect the morals of children. But motion pictures are not thrust upon children. They go to them only with the consent of their parents in most cases. It is, in fact, easier for parents to protect their child from the improper motion picture than from the improper book or picture. These pleaders for the censorship talk as if the motion picture were patronized chiefly by children and that it must therefore be written down to the level of their immaturity. Nothing could be further from the fact. The newspaper and the theater, equally with motion pictures, are patronized by large numbers of children. But the main support of every such medium is the adult. If one is to be held down to what is safe for the child all should be.

As a matter of fact, we think there is frequent exaggeration as to the effect of frankness upon children's minds. We are excluding from consideration the obscene and the indecent picture—the exhibi-

tion of which is under existing law a crime and which the authorities have ample power to suppress and punish. The play or book or picture presenting an adult problem decently and candidly is not in the least likely to corrupt the young. It usually passes over the head of a child and merely bores him. Any occasional damage is many times compensated for by the blessings of a freely developing national mind.

These are the broad principles under which our literature and art have developed and we can view any departure therefrom only with the greatest suspicion and fear.

## The Harding Style

The state utterances of Mr. Harding show one steady quality which is so valuable as to outweigh verbal brilliancy. His preoccupation is not fine writing, but a careful, continuous effort to be accurate—to express exactly what is new, and neither less nor more than what is meant.

This quality does not make for ease of reading or for the picturesque, imaginative phrase. But we suspect that these qualities have seldom been present in the best papers of state, however great or momentous. The Monroe Doctrine was announced in singularly colorless and diplomatic phraseology. The Constitution of the United States makes hard reading. So does even the more popularly conceived Declaration of Independence, which, after a few sonorous generalities, turns into a detailed indictment. The Magna Charta is singularly heavy.

Orations and debates can be moving, imaginative, absorbing. Presidential inaugural addresses to Congress are rather legal pleadings than personal appeals. Their aim is nominally to propose clear, specific courses of action rather than to stir or enkindle. Such being the fact, we think the official utterances of President Harding show a rare fitness for their purpose. The war led to a wealth of loose thinking and hazy, emotional speech here and around the world. What is now needed is hard thinking and accurate language. Not more fuel under the boilers but more accurate navigation on the bridge is the call of the hour. We are glad to feel in Mr. Harding's speeches that by disposition and intention he stresses the right manner and method of command.

## A Slogan Missing

The Times Omits "Mr. Lodge's Determination to Kill the Treaty"

To the Editor of The Tribune:  
Sir: I note an alarming omission from the Times leader of the 6th inst. on "One of the Consequences," the subject of comment being what Secretary Hughes had written on the mandate to Japan over the Island of Yap and the uncertainty as to what the response will be. The editorial observes that all uncertainty might have been avoided by our ratifying the Treaty of Versailles; that "the responsibility for the consequences, therefore, rests with that group of Senators who, before the treaty was ready for signature, declared that they would not permit it to be ratified."

This falls short of the definiteness with which The Times usually discusses treaty responsibilities. Its habit has been frequently to remark on "Mr. Lodge's determination to kill the treaty." Readers must recall the fact that Mr. Lodge offered and advocated the resolution which brought the treaty back to the Senate for further discussion and that he was successful. This falls short of the definiteness with which The Times usually discusses treaty responsibilities. Its habit has been frequently to remark on "Mr. Lodge's determination to kill the treaty." Readers must recall the fact that Mr. Lodge offered and advocated the resolution which brought the treaty back to the Senate for further discussion and that he was successful.

Notwithstanding these widely known facts, the slogan still sounded from the Times Annex, so that one might have conjectured that there was a new exploitation, that possibly the actuating purpose was to gain a name in purely imaginative literature. But this recent deliverance obviously blunders, and one wonders whether there may not have been a new hand at the old bellows.

It is not conceivable that the slogan will be discarded. Frequent repetition has made it easy of proclamation, and we may be confident that it will continue to resound, on occasion, until, to borrow a line from Dante Gabriel Rossetti,

The flight  
Of the last bird into the last night.  
GEORGE R. BISHOP.  
New York, April 11, 1921.

[Persistent misrepresentation is irritating, but let us have faith that truth will make its way. It is in the record that President Wilson prevented the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, and no one can get it out.—Editor.]

## Railroad Clerks' Reduction

To the Editor of The Tribune:  
Sir: I have read The Tribune for nearly three years, the length of time that I have been employed by the New York Central Railroad, and have always found it to be fair to both sides of a question, but this morning in your editorial "The Real Railroad Owners" you make a statement that I think is quite unfair: "The railroaders are being run at a loss (their deficit for February was \$7,205,000) for the benefit of the 1,993,524 employees."

The railroad workers are not looking for charity, but a square deal. February is not an average month, because the railroad traffic was, I understand, way below normal. A reduction of \$4 a month to each employee would more than cover this deficit, whereas the proposed reduction of the wages of clerks is \$26.52, with no promise of immediate reduction of rates.

Why is this?  
A CLERK.  
New York, April 12, 1921.

## The Conning Tower

The First Line Bards  
(Culled by Edith from the Cambridge Edition of Scott's Poems)

A weary lot is thine, fair maid  
A poor Louise, the living day  
And art thou cold and lowly laid  
As lords their laborers' time delay—

Maiden whose sorrows wait the living  
Dead,  
Merry it is in the good green wood  
Mother darksome, mother dread.  
My hawk is tired of perch and hood.

O lady, twine no wreath for me,  
O open the door some pity to show—  
O lovers' eyes are sharp to see—  
O tell me, Harper, wherefore flow—

The hearth in hall was black and dead  
The hearth this night must be my bed  
The sun upon the lake is low  
Twist ye, twine ye! even so—

Waken lords and ladies gay,  
Wasted, weary, wherefore stay—  
When autumn nights were long and drear.  
When friends are met o'er merry cheer

Well, Dr. Einstein is a true scientist. He wrote his book, he says, from scientific motives and not for notoriety. This means that he has a proper and justifiable scorn for the scientific equipment of what is known as the public or lay mind. Probably the Doc is full of humility regarding what he knows compared to what is to be known; but if he knows only a little about any subject, he knows more than most do about it.

For man has scant knowledge of things that do not interest him. And as he is interested chiefly in food and shelter and the easiest method of getting them, his interests are restricted.

The Complete Letter Writer  
(Received by a music publisher)

Dear Sir:—  
I am in search of some one who is willing to pass judgement on my singing, and if found to do the mark, place me under their direct management.

My voice is tenor, and sing ballads and bits of opera.

I have given many concerts in a number of towns on the Hudson with success.

I have many admirers but their judgement is not the one that satisfies, and makes one.

I would welcome an interview if one should be desired.

It looks like the Yanks' pennant this season; but further than that, except to pick the Cubs to win the N. L. gonfalon, we do not care to forecast. We have not yet received our season pass; and our interest in baseball still is picking at the counterpane.

"Bricks that formerly cost \$5 a thousand," says The Hudson Republican—and not Prof. Einstein himself could express greater scorn for the law of gravitation—"will be reduced to \$12 effective Monday."

## Dulcinea Languish

I met Dulcinea yesterday on a Chicago-New York express just before I got off at Cleveland. "Hello, hello, hello," she said. "This is a surprise. It's been a coon's age since I've seen you. Where have you been keeping yourself all these years? You've moved from New York? In Cleveland? I've passed through there, but never stopped. Doesn't Cleveland win in baseball or something? Chester's all yours talking. You never met him? Oh, of course not. You got the announcement, didn't you? He's the most wonderful husband and we have two of the darlinest kiddies. You must come and see us next time you are in the big city. No, we are not right in New York. I always say that I don't like to live right in the city, but I can't bear to be too far away. I'd miss the theaters and good times so much. We have the cutest little cottage on the north shore.

"No, I'm not going right to Manhattan—stopping off in Buffalo and going to run over to the Falls. We have friends there. I'm dying to see Niagara and never have seen it. We were going there on our honeymoon, but some silly old business affair kept Chester's nose to the grindstone after we had made all our plans. And you know how such things are. We kept putting off and putting off and putting off. But this time I decided I just must see the Falls, even if I am honeymooning by myself, so to speak.

"Aren't the hames on Pullman cars too killing? I wonder who thinks up all the names? What a miserable looking station! This is Cleveland, you say? You must get off? Too bad, it's seemed like old times to have seen you. You haven't changed a bit. Well, bye, bye. Give my regards to Broadway when you get there. And be sure to give us a ring next time you're in New York for a little stay." H. P.

Just as we settled down to read the Message, we stumbled, in the second paragraph, upon the word "illy." And fell, never to rise again.

## With Obelisks

April, April,  
Laugh thy girlish laughter,  
Then the moment after  
Freeze my girlish ears!  
NAN CASS.

And now the Senate of the climatically fairest state in our geographically broad land has passed the Lusk-Clayton bill for motion picture censorship. The chances are that a board composed of persons without taste will pass upon the exhibitability of films, not infrequently born in the imagination of producers also without taste.

"It will be up to the board, for instance," Senator Boylan says, "to standardize the screen kiss. How long should it last? Should it last a minute or only thirty seconds to pass muster?" A kiss, we are informed, is a local issue; its duration, our confiding informant adds, is relative; it may be zero or infinity.

Query to censorship board: How long should it take to pass a given point?  
F. P. A.

## IN THE DOCTOR'S WAITING ROOM

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## Books By Heywood Brown

"Old Hugh Craig," writes F. B. H., "has a system of beating the conventions of railroad travel which has some advantages over yours. He boards a likely looking train without a ticket, and when the conductor comes around old Hugh hands him a handful of petty cash. To the trainman's query as to his destination he replies: 'When I have ridden up the worth of this put me off.'"

M. A. B. has other amendments to offer in regard to the objections which we cited on Monday against a life made up of "promises, contracts and clogs."

"Isn't there any thrill left for you," she writes, "in offering the baby a brand new taste, such as ice cream, or kumquats, or ginger ale? And can't you get a corresponding quiver from demanding, in a strange restaurant, item on the menu of which you never have heard? If you have regular office hours wouldn't it be a bit exciting to push back your chair at 3 o'clock on a busy afternoon and without explanation or comment leave that office and go to the Palisades for wild flowers?"

"Some night when you crave a new experience get out your wife's sewing machine and try to work the binder, the tucker, the shirrer, the five-stitch ruffler, the corder and all the little hemmers. Or, if you want to give a thrill as well as share it try kissing your wife sometimes when she is expecting anything but that. My husband did it once, all of a sudden, under an electric light, in Mount Pleasant Street, in Washington, and we got caught by my brother-in-law, and I felt five years younger."

The new dish suggestion is all right, but we've worked it rather hard and generally found it disappointing. There is, for instance, an Armenian restaurant to which we go every now and then because all the dishes are unfamiliar to us—at least they were a month ago. Now we have been through the list. We ordered each strange dish in high anticipation, but no matter what it was called on the menu it invariably turned out to be stewed lamb and rice.

Somewhat more disturbing is a letter from S. L. W., who writes that she

has been thinking of getting married, but that our article on Monday has made her undecided. "We are thinking of getting married ourselves," she writes, "and would do so if it could be done to-morrow, but, as you say, how can anybody possibly want to do anything eight weeks in advance? And we are afraid if we engage the church and the minister, the bridesmaids and ushers, the invitations and announcements, the caterer and the florist, the wedding gown and veil, we may change our mind."

True words, we feel, and yet with all these handicaps getting married and staying that way remains the most exciting of all two-handed gambling games.

Michael Strange's new volume of poetry, Resurrecting Life, is not a great deal better than her first volume, published two years ago, but what of it is better is so very much better that she is at least in the class of the little girl who had a little curl. At her best she is fine. There is, for instance, a poem called "The Future," which begins:

"I do not care for the future—  
Knowing well my capacities to deal with it

Are breeding up from the fullness of my response  
To this single hour."

Here is wisdom, and lucidity, and music. Other odds and ends of things in her volume are of a piece with this. She is apparently becoming a person with something to say, if slowly, and she has made progress toward saying it. But there is a verse of John Drinkwater's, called "Mystery," which she could read to her profit. That clear-eyed mystic is severe on the mystification that lesser poets do on. He says bluntly that strong thought is clear and all strong feeling simple, and that the weak throw up kerfuzzles as a smoke screen. Some of Michael Strange's poetry is so mysterious that we cannot make enough of it even to scold it. Some of it makes a great to-do about an ego that has remained single in a world that presses for entrance, and is therefore unimportant. But there is no sense in dwelling on her faults. We expected them from her former volume, and they will fall away to nothing if she can from this on follow the light she has found for herself.

to ask the people by means of a referendum?  
The Governor continued, "If it is bad the enforcement of it would demonstrate its badness; if it is good the enforcement of it would demonstrate its goodness."

How could enforcement demonstrate either goodness or badness?

A. BRINKERHOFF.  
New York, April 11, 1921.

## Railroad and Government Wages

To the Editor of The Tribune:  
Sir: Why can the government cut its employees' pay from 15 to 30 per cent when it will not allow the railroads, which are facing bankruptcy, to do likewise?

Will any of the champions of labor, in all fairness, dare to take the wage scale of the United States government in its navy yards, arsenals, etc., and adjust a new scale of pay for the railroads on a comparison? Will they? I'll say they won't! POSTED.  
New York, April 11, 1921.

## A Long Nap

(From The Boston Transcript)  
Isn't the "tired business man" about rested by this time?

## Prisoners' Welfare

State-Directed Normal Life in Jail for Habitual Offenders  
To the Editor of The Tribune:

Sir: Prisons exist for those who do not go there. Adolph Lewisohn voices the fairly new theory that they should also exist for the prisoner's welfare and reformation. The prisons of the future will realize his dream, for it is not only right that they should but also to the public interest. Under our present system it is well known that a prison term brings with it "something very like disgrace," and that few are benefited thereby.

By far the greater proportion of prisoners are first or second offenders, but there is a class among us which is well known to be professionally criminal by the police, who watch them continually, knowing that they will shortly be able to arrest them again and again. These people are an expense when in the hands of the government and a public danger when they are abroad. Many years' experience should suggest that here is a case for experimentation.

Anybody may get into jail once or perhaps twice, but there is no excuse for the man who gets there often. Whatever the offense, a third conviction should entail loss of liberty permanently. Such people are not fit for liberty, though under direction and supervision they might easily become decent, useful citizens. The state should supply the deficiency their natures lack, without revenge, without contempt, but with the best interests of the individual at heart. Let them work, earn and be educated; marry and live the normal life they should if they were free.

There is always an outcry that prisoners are being "pampered" when they are treated with human consideration. I would have them treated with the utmost kindness, but segregated from the mass of scoundrels whose ideals are not theirs, until they have proved beyond power of dispute, by years of acquired habit, that they are fit to use the doubtful blessing of liberty which is at present thrust upon everybody.

They should become members of an order which sacrifices personal liberty for the purpose of serving themselves and the state to the best advantage. They should be entitled to the best advice and assistance from their superior. A state-directed life, if without dishonor, would possibly be a great deal more popular than we may imagine. Anxiety about the necessities of life is the ugly companion of freedom, which is only the right to fight for one's life, alone and unaided, after all.

STEPHEN HAWES.  
New York, April 11, 1921.

## No Escape

(From The Portland Oregonian)  
The Minister of Home Affairs for Hungary is reported, in Budapest dispatches, to have abolished the modern dances set to "jazz" music, and to have decreed that the old Magyar dances must be revived—if any dancing is done. The Magyar dances are the ancient measures of the Hungarian peasant, the folk dances that were wildy stepped, but never "wild" in the modern sense. They were natural expressions of joy, depicted in the dance. It is unfortunate that America has no minister of home affairs, nor any Magyar dances, for that matter. There are, of course, the tribal revolts of the Sioux, the Blackfoot and the agile Apaches, which might be borrowed with effectiveness. But one imagines that these simple devices would not content a generation that bows down to "jazz."